

and safeguard existing weapons stockpiles. World leaders approved the resolution, joining with the President's previous statements that "America seeks a world with no nuclear weapons." This is not a vision of unilateral disarmament, but a vision for multilateral action. It is a vision of working step by step with every nation to draw down nuclear arsenals together. It is a critically important goal, and one of the best ways to ensure a safer future and a safer world.

In the past few years, we have seen a rise in clandestine nuclear programs developed by rogue states, including those which have successfully acquired a nuclear arsenal. This growing threat—primarily from North Korea and Iran—underscores the value of international strategic arms treaties. These are global challenges which require global solutions and a multilateral approach. The best way to combat proliferation is unity of the international community, and I am pleased that one of the greatest successes of President Obama's policy of engagement with Iran has been a growing convergence of views identifying Iran's nuclear program as a threat not just to one region but to the world.

While multilateralism is the best way to effectively reduce the threat posed by nuclear weapons, we must look to successful bilateral agreements as a model, including START. This historic agreement laid the groundwork for a common understanding between the United States and Russia regarding nuclear weapons, and truly symbolized the end of the Cold War. It allowed us to talk about previously taboo subjects, such as the Triad and intrusive verification, and develop a shared language of expertise and evaluation that reduced our nuclear arsenals. More importantly, it provided a process of arbitration that avoids confrontation, establishes legal mechanisms to forever avoid a nuclear war.

The stability START provided allowed both the United States and Russia to reduce our nuclear stockpiles and engage in negotiations about curbing proliferation worldwide. It also built great confidence in the other as a partner. Since its inception, START has served as an enabler of global non-proliferation efforts. Now this critical treaty is set to expire, and it is time to move to establish a follow-on which reflects the requirements of the 21st century, and allows the United States and Russia to continue this valuable partnership in nonproliferation together.

This is why I am a cosponsor of legislation which provides a legal basis for extending the START verification regime, and I strongly support the work of the Obama administration—under the leadership of Assistant Secretary of State for Verification and Compliance Rose Gottemoeller—to negotiate the follow-on treaty. We owe it to Americans to place consideration of the new treaty at the top of the agenda when it is submitted, so the United

States can continue to pave the way toward a safer and more secure world.

SOMALIA

Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, just over 6 months ago, this Congress was abuzz with concern about piracy off Somalia's coast. Following the attack on a U.S.-flagged ship, the MV Maersk Alabama, and capture of CPT Richard Phillips, no less than five congressional committees held hearings on this topic. There was intense discussion about the steps that should be taken by our ships and our Navy to help prevent these attacks. And the State Department subsequently announced several steps it would take to combat piracy, including working with the International Contact Group on Piracy to expand the multinational naval operation to patrol the waters off Somalia's coast. The United States, China, India, Russia, the European Union and many other countries have deployed naval forces to the region that are working together to combat piracy—a remarkable show of international cooperation.

Those naval efforts have had some success. But while piracy attacks declined considerably over the summer months with the monsoon season, attacks appear to be on the rise again. The International Maritime Bureau reports that 38 ships have been attacked and 10 hijacked in the past 2 months. This includes the Maersk Alabama, which was attacked again on November 18. It also includes a supertanker carrying \$20 million in crude oil that was seized this week en route from Saudi Arabia to New Orleans. The UN Secretary General warned in July that "as a result of the military presence in the region, pirates have employed more daring operational tactics, operating further seawards, toward the Seychelles, and using more sophisticated weaponry." The recent attacks bear out the Secretary General's concern. Even more disconcerting, Jeffrey Gettleman of the New York Times reported this week that more Somalis and new Somali subclans are being drawn into the piracy business, attracted by the vast ransom payments.

I said back in the spring that while naval action was needed to confront these pirates, we would likely see more episodes of piracy if we did not also address the conditions on land that contribute to this problem. The recent events have proven this to be true. Both Director of National Intelligence Blair and Defense Intelligence Agency Director Army LTG Michael Maples, in their testimony before Congress earlier this year, cited lawlessness and economic problems on land in Somalia as the cause of rising piracy at sea. In the absence of local law enforcement capacity and amidst a dire economic situation, piracy is an attractive choice for many young people in northwest Somalia. The renewed piracy attacks show that this remains the case, regardless of the increased pressure from naval

forces and maritime vessels adopting new defensive precautions.

Now, let me be clear: when I say we should address the conditions on land, I do not mean that we should carry out some kind of military action against those villages where the pirates are known to live, as some have suggested. In fact, such operations would do little to change those conditions and they would likely make matters worse by inciting local resentment. Nor am I in any way excusing the behavior of the criminals behind these attacks—nothing can justify their actions. What I am saying is that what is needed is a serious international commitment to help establish stability, functional governance, capable law enforcement, and economic opportunity in Somalia. As leading Somalia expert Dr. Ken Menkhaus has said, it will be impossible to end the piracy when "the risks are so low, rewards so high and alternatives so bleak in desolate Somalia." Changing that equation requires real change on land.

In particular, we know that most of the pirates come from communities in northern Somalia. Yet, despite this, we have done little to directly engage the regions of Puntland and Somaliland, and their regional governments. I am not arguing that we should recognize their independence, but I believe it is in our national interest to engage these regions—diplomatically and economically—and to promote governance and stability there. It is in our interest from the standpoint of not just counterpiracy, but also counterterrorism. The terrorist threat in northern Somalia is, or should be, more apparent now than ever. Last October, terrorists attacked in Somaliland and Puntland. And last month, a well-known judge and legislator in Puntland were assassinated. We need to help both of these regions to maintain and shore up their relative stability. And in the case of Somaliland, there is a unique tradition of democratic rule that we ought to encourage, although I am disappointed that Somaliland's elections have been repeatedly postponed.

At the same time, more engagement with northern Somalia does not mean we should neglect the rest of the country. The raging conflict and resulting humanitarian crisis in central and southern Somalia is worse than ever. Just yesterday, a suicide bomber attacked a graduation ceremony in Mogadishu, killing at least 10 people, including 3 Ministers of the Transitional Federal Government. This demonstrates the fragility of the TFG, which continues to face a strengthened al Shabaab and allied militias. Over the weekend, al Shabaab, a group with links to al-Qaida, seized another major town in southern Somalia. In addition to these security challenges, the TFG has struggled to broaden its grassroots appeal or demonstrate its ability to make a difference in people's lives. The result is that the TFG is reportedly

being seen by some Somalis as a proxy of the West and little different than its predecessors. This is extremely worrisome, especially if we believe that this government offers the best chance for establishing stability and inclusive governance in Somalia.

Even more than the threat of piracy, the terrorist threat shows why we need to be paying more attention to Somalia. Al-Qaida and its affiliates continue to exploit Somalia's instability, which has real ramifications for our national security. Last month, the Justice Department announced that terrorism charges were being brought in the District of Minnesota against eight defendants for recruiting and raising funds for Somali-Americans to fight on behalf of al Shebaab. Fourteen people have now been charged in this investigation, reportedly the largest group of American citizens suspected of joining an extremist movement with links to al-Qaida. We should not equate these individuals with al-Qaida suspects, but we should be mindful of what Director of the National Counterterrorism Center Michael Leiter testified to in September—that “the potential for al-Qaida operatives in Somalia to commission Americans to return to the United States and launch attacks against the Homeland remains of significant concern.” Our close partners in the region—Ethiopia, Kenya, and Uganda—are also justifiably concerned about al Shebaab's threat to attack them.

Recent history has shown that there are no easy answers to Somalia's troubles. Moreover, it has shown that we can complicate and even aggravate dynamics in Somalia, and many Somalis continue to view the United States with a high level of suspicion and resentment. We need to be conscious of this. But that does not mean we should just disengage and let matters in Somalia play out, as some commentators suggest. Rather, what I believe the recent history of the United States involvement in Somalia should teach us is that we cannot afford a half-hearted or fragmented policy toward Somalia where we are not clearly communicating to Somalis our intentions and our commitment. We need a comprehensive strategy toward Somalia that includes serious, high-level diplomatic support for a sustainable and inclusive peace. I have been calling for such a strategy for nearly a decade now and I still do not believe we have one. With piracy resurging and the terrorist threat more real than ever, I hope that will finally change.

ADDITIONAL STATEMENTS

REMEMBERING TOM GRAFF

• Mrs. BOXER. Mr. President, I take this opportunity to honor the life of Tom Graff, a pioneer of the environmental movement. Mr. Graff passed away on November 12, 2009, after a long battle with cancer. He was 65.

Born in Honduras in January 1944, Tom Graff was the son of German Jewish refugees. He spent his childhood in Syracuse, NY, attending Phillips Exeter Academy. He later graduated from Harvard University, Harvard Law School, and the London College of Economics. After graduation, Tom clerked for Federal judge Carl McGowen in Washington, DC, and was a legislative assistant to New York Mayor John Lindsay. In 1970, he moved to California to work for Howard, Prim, Smith, Rice & Downs, a law firm based in San Francisco.

In 1971, Tom founded the California office of the Environmental Defense Fund. From then until 2008 when he retired, Tom served as Environmental Defense Fund's regional director. For more than 37 years, Tom worked tirelessly and passionately as an advocate for the environment. He established a new form of environmental activism based on the idea that economics could, and probably should, play a significant role in environmental policymaking. Tom believed that paying attention to how economic incentives influenced business and personal behavior was critical to bringing about environmental improvements.

Although he was involved with a number of environmental issues, it was Tom's significant contributions to water policy that left an indelible mark in California. From the American River to Mono Lake to the Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta, Tom strove to ensure that water was distributed appropriately, and that the environment got its fair share. Working together with Senator Bill Bradley of New Jersey and Congressman GEORGE MILLER of Martinez, Tom was a guiding force behind the Central Valley Project Improvement Act of 1991, a milestone in the environmental movement to protect the delta. He helped craft the historic proposal to use water markets and public subsidies that ultimately resolved the controversy around Mono Lake. He also did battle with the East Bay Municipal Utility District when it sought a second source of water from the American River, known for its abundant fall salmon run. Concerned for the health of the river, the Environmental Defense Fund filed suit against EBMUD. Seventeen years later, a landmark decision designated a baseline environmental flow need for the American River that stands to this day as a benchmark in river policy.

Throughout his career, Tom's commitment to conservation and the benefits it brought was evident in the work he did every day. His lifetime of contributions and his stewardship of the environment will not soon be forgotten.

Tom is survived by his wife Sharona Barzilay; his three children Samantha, Benjamin, and Rebecca; and two grandsons Avi and Rafael. I extend my deepest sympathies to his family.

Tom was a true pioneer and advocate for a healthy and sustainable environ-

ment, working tirelessly to provide new approaches for managing natural resources. His efforts will continue to shape California's water policies for generations to come. •

REMEMBERING MITCH DEMIENTIEFF

• Ms. MURKOWSKI. Mr. President, last April I spoke about the loss of Buddy Brown, a leader of the Athabascan people of interior Alaska, who served as president of the Tanana Chiefs Conference, Inc. Buddy died at the age of 39.

Today it is my sad duty to report the passing of another Athabascan leader and former president of the Tanana Chiefs Conference, Mitch Demientieff of Nenana. Mitch died unexpectedly on Tuesday, December 1, at the age of 57. Like Buddy, he left us too soon. He accomplished so much in a short time and was taken from us when he had so much more to give.

Mitch was first elected president of the Tanana Chiefs Conference in 1973 at the age of 20. He was elected to serve in that role again in 1987. Today, the Tanana Chiefs Conference is an economic powerhouse in interior Alaska employing hundreds of people and administering a wide range of Bureau of Indian Affairs and Indian Health Service programs on behalf of some 10,000 Native people in a territory that extends over 235,000 square miles. TCC is looked upon as a national pioneer in Indian self determination and that is in large measure due to the leadership initiatives of Mitch Demientieff. Under Mitch's leadership, TCC created a regionwide health care delivery system which is today anchored by the Chief Andrew Isaac Health Center in Fairbanks.

Mitch had the good fortune of serving as president of TCC in the run-up to passage of the Indian Self Determination and Educational Assistance Act of 1975. He positioned TCC as an early adapter of this powerful tool through which Native people rely upon their tribes, rather than the Federal Government, to deliver Federal Indian programs and services. TCC has used these authorities wisely to improve the quality of services to the people of interior Alaska and provide life changing career opportunities to Native people from Fairbanks and communities throughout its region. It also began to administer housing, lands management, tribal government assistance, public safety, education and employment and natural resources programs.

One of the characteristics that distinguish Alaska's Native people is the continued reliance on traditional ways of living in our villages. Subsistence, the use of the Earth's resources for cultural and emotional sustenance, as well as food, is the way of life in interior Alaska.

Mitch Demientieff, even while running a multi-million dollar tribal enterprise, never forgot that subsistence